4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related." but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a[1] war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting,

[1] [Martius (source No. 3) says this occurred beforhand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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614 which was prefixed to each member's given name. However, the clans operated as a powerful force in tribal integration and were of utmost importance in the structuring of interpersonal relationships.

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

601 The list of kinship terms used by the Mundurucú male presented below should suggest to the reader some very pertinent hypotheses about Mundurucú social organization.

Vocative		*Referential*	
adjut	father's father; mother's father	adjut djut	father's father; mother's father
awah	father's mother	awah wah	father's mother
adjung	mother's mother; father's sister	adjung djung	mother's mother; father's sister
bai	father; father's brother	we bai; bai bai	father
ai I	mother; mother's sister	bai bai	father's brother
wanyũ	mother's brother; father-in-law; older brother; older cross and parallel male cousins	u shj; ai I	mother
		ai I	mother's sister
o köt	sister's son; son-in-law; younger brother; younger cross and parallel cousins	o djorit	mother's brother; father's sister's son
da ũ	sister; cross and parallel female cousins; daughter; brother's and sister's daughter; son's and daughter's daughter	wanyũ yũ	older brother; older mother's sister's son; older father's brother's son
u sum	brother-in-law (of same age); age mate of opposite moiety	o kit pit; o köt köt	younger brother; younger mother's sister's son; younger father's brother's son
bekit; raipö	son; brother's son	we shit	sister; father's brother's and mother's sister's daughters
tapö	daughter's and son's son	da ũ ũ	father's sister's daughter
		we shI	mother's brother's son and daughter; sister's son and daughter
		o pöt	son; brother's son
		o ra shit	daughter; brother's daughter
		rashenyebit	grandchildren (all categories)

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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602 619 to the opposite one. Finally, when a Mundurucú is queried about the close solidarity of the tribe as a whole, he says, "We are all related."

601 Extension of kin terms was complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety were addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*bai*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation were either "older" (*wan yũ*) or "younger (*o köt*) brother." On the descending generations there were only "sons" (*bekit*) and "grandsons" (*tapö*). Females of one's own moiety were called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety were addressed as "daughter" (*da ũ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú had "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapö*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety were addressed as "older" (*wanyũ*) and "younger (*o köt*) brothers," with the exception of age-mates, who were called (*u sum*). Females of the opposite moiety were called "grandmother" (*awah*), "mother" (*ai ĩ*), and "daughter" (*da ũ*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego. These vocative terms were used exclusively as forms of address until recent years. Referential terms were also used to the exclusion of personal names when speaking of a person. In cases of possible confusion, the clan name of the person under discussion was prefixed to the referential kin term. Every Mundurucú could, and still can, place every other Mundurucú in some relationship category. A visitor in a village need only ask a few questions about the clan names of its residents to place everybody in proper context. A few more questions as to mutual relationships would be sufficient to establish true consanguinal connections.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

619 The picture of Mundurucú society so far presented is one of a culturally, linguistically and self-consciously unitary group which emphasized hostility towards the outside world and harmony within its own. Integration on a tribal level was strengthened by the complete pervasion of kinship, by the continued sense of unity of clan fragments, and by intervillage co-operation in warfare and ritual. In the following analysis of village structure in the nineteenth century, a clearer understanding of over-all tribal integration will be obtained from the point of view of Mundurucú intervillage connections.

621 562 The social structure of the Mundurcú village was characterized by a deep cleavage between male and female roles, and a separation of the institutional frameworks within which each sex operated. Fundamental to this division were the institutions of the men's house and the dwelling houses. Each Mun-

621 durucú village consisted of a men's house and a number of large dwelling houses, all arranged in a circle about a central plaza. The men's house always occupied the western extremity of the circle and faced eastward toward the plaza. The dwellings were large structures with elliptical floor plans, and walls made of sheets of bark. The roofs were thatched with palm leaves. Each dwelling housed a considerable extended family, and house populations must have averaged from fifty to perhaps eighty. There are now two to five such houses

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

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Montagnais NH6

Mo Mu 171 177 105

Mundurucú (cont.)	Montagnais (cont.)
...llage held together only by weakening kin ties and sociability.	Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries.
Centripetal factors (e.g., sorcery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in B, below.	Nuclear family basic unit at all times of year.
B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4A)	Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.
Leadership no longer integrative.	
Individual trade undercuts kin obligations.	
Conflict with agricultural cycle resolved by moving to rubber avenue--family now in isolation except for trade bonds.	

Mo Mu 171 177 [439 622]

Mundurucú during the period immediately after the Mundurucú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own.

Mo Mu [602]

The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Mundurucú than among the Montagnais, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated Indians east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Mundurucú kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Montagnais. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Mundurucú families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Mundurucú still produce all their own subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, technique, and organization.

Mu 177 439

The Brazilian rubber tapper--the white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and enmeshed in the mercantile economy--usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Mundurucú who bought most of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become caboclos, or neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen.

Mo Mu 171 177 593

The acculturative factors operated in two somewhat different ways among both the Mundurucú and Montagnais. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total groups they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate.

Mo Mu 177 621 622

Among the Mundurucú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Mundurucú culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Mundurucú were not much more closely integrated than the Montagnais.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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soning may well be extended to the Mundurucú custom of avuncular marriage, or to various types of preferential union in many societies undergoing such changes. On the subject of its taboo, however, Watson deduces that the sister's daughter marriage has fallen under a general Cayuá prohibition on marriages with close kin. This has obviously no relevance to the Mundurucú situation, for no such prohibition exists among them, as the occasional cross-cousin union indicates.

I would prefer to advance an alternate explanation for the taboo, based on the proposition that there is often an incest taboo beween co-residents, whatever their genealogical connection may be.[24] Given the shift in residence rules that has been noted, the mother's brother and his sister's daughter are co-residents, at least until the time of his marriage. Thus, a union with her would be endogamous to the household and would not only be disruptive of the good order of the residential unit, following Malinowski,[25] but would tend to isolate the household from the larger society, a point that Leslie White, among others, has stressed.[26] That sister's daughter marriage is congruent with a patrilocal residence rule would also, it might be added, lend confirmation to the thesis that the Mundurucú are patrilocal.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship is still an all-pervasive means of ordering social relations among the savannah Mundurucú. Every person in the entire tribe is considered to be related to every other and is known to him and addressed by him by a kin term. Reference to the list below of kin terms used by males indicates how these relations are structured.

[24] *Cf.* Titiev, 1943, p. 516.
[25] Malinowski, 1930, p. 630.
[26] White, 1948, p. 25.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Vocative

601 *adjut* father's father; mother's father
awah father's mother
adjung mother's mother; father's sister
bai father; father's brother
ai ĩ mother; mother's sister
wanyũ mother's brother; father-in-law; older brother; older cross and parallel male cousins
o köt sister's son; son-in-law; younger brother; younger cross and parallel cousins
da ũ sister; cross and parallel female cousins; daughter; brother's and sister's daughter; son's and daughter's daughter
u sum brother-in-law (of same age); age mate of opposite moiety
bekit son; brother's son
raipö son; brother's son
tapö daughter's and son's son

Referential

adjut djut father's father; mother's father
awah wah father's mother
adjung djung mother's mother; father's sister
we bai father
bai bai father, father's brother
u ši mother
ai ĩ mother, mother's sister
o djotit mother's brother; father's sister's son
wanyũ yũ older brother; older mother's sister's son; older father's brother's son
o kit pit younger brother
o köt köt younger mother's sister's son; younger father's brother's son

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we šit sister; father's brother's and mother's sister's daughters 601

da ũ ũ father's sister's daughter

we ši mother's brother's son and daughter; sister's son and daughter

o pöt son; brother's son

o ra šit daughter; brother's daughter

rašenyebit grandchildren (all categories)

582 601 [171]

The vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, bears certain points of resemblance to the Tupí-Guaraní type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão.[77] It is bifurcate merging, and Ego has only brothers and sisters on his own generation. A significant departure from the generation principle is found in the equivalence of mother's mother and father's sister, both of whom are subsumed under the term *adjung*. The identification of these two relatives is continued in the referential system. This classification could come about as a result of the practice of sister's daughter, or avuncular, marriage operating in conjunction with the cross-cousin marriage expectable in a moiety system. With cross-cousin marriage, Ego's mother's father and the father's mother are brother and sister, and, when combined with avuncular marriage, Ego's father's sister is a possible wife for the mother's father. Thus viewed, Ego's mother's father's wife, or mother's mother, can be the same person as the father's sister.

Further support for this view comes from the referential terminology, which, I might suggest, is perhaps more conservative than the vocative. The mother's brother's children and the sister's children are referred to as *we ši*, a logical result if the mother's brother marries Ego's sister under the rule of avuncular marriage. To classify

[77] Wagley and Galvão, 1946.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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601 further the brother's wife as *we ši* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avuncular marriage. The application of the term *we ši* to the mother's brother's children and not to those of the father's sister indicates that cross-cousin marriage was matrilateral. This possible preference is consistent with Homan's and Schneider's thesis that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is congruent with patrilineal systems.["] Contemporary informants claim, however, that either cousin is now a suitable mate.

Following the terminological system, the equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of union with the sister's daughter. Thus, the analysis of nomenclature presents strong evidence for the past practice of avuncular marriage; the disparity between the kinship terms and current practice is probably an instance of the conservatism of terminology relative to the social relations they categorize.

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601 The method of analysis employed above seems to be in violation of Murdock's dictum that marriage customs are likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society." ["] It should therefore be noted that the Mundurucú kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avuncular marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate alone, but by all three practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework. In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally interrelated, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Mundurucú marriages at one time. Murdock, himself, states the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following: "Since

["] Homans and Schneider, 1955, p. 51.
["] Murdock, 1949, p. 123.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."[a]

That the patrilineality of Mundurucú society has been of some significance in structuring the terminological system may be inferred from the fact that the identical marriage practices have been found in South America in societies lacking unilineal descent groups and having ordinary bifurcate merging kinship systems.[b] Thus, the classification of the mother's brother's and sister's children as *we ši* follows in part from their membership in the moiety opposite to that of Ego. Similarly, the application of the referential term *o djorit* to the sons of the father's sister and the mother's mother recognizes their moiety affiliation and, also, the fact that both are sons of women classified as *adjung*. The latter term, it will be noted, is applied to all older women of Ego's own moiety.

Extension of kin terms is complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety are addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*bat*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation are either "older" (*wan yũ*) or "younger (*o köt*) brother." On the descending generations there are only "sons" (*bekit*) and "grandsons" (*tapö*). Females of one's own moiety are called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety are addressed as "daughter" (*da ũ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú have "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapö*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety are addressed as

[a] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[b] *Cf.* Oberg, 1953, pp. 44, 99; Gillin, 1936, pp. 92–96.

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● 601 616 "older" (*wanyũ*) and "younger (*o kõt*) brothers," with the exception of age mates, who are called (*u sum*). Females of the opposite moiety are called "grandmother" (*auah*), "mother" (*ai ĩ*), and "daughter" (*da ũ*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego.